692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la·nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

WT 291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT [88]
426 LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T 101 631 WT 631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T 642 648 115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T 642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth ... ... = about 1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth ... ... = " 4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger ... ... = " 8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger ... ... = " 10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle = " 14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers " 18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides ... ... = " 6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard ... ... = " 300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would ... ... = " 2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance ... ... = " 6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey" = " 12 "
For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426●

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen". 798

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsteh (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángthán plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle)./ /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

781 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last 426 the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen," in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him.

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials.

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said.

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákri* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákris* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

312 Chapter III, D.

423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

[424]

[428]

423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

[428]

[591]

423 651

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

423 427 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

• 426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 426 452 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 452 671 657 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective measures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repayments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

426 456 671 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 671 425 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is entitled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

No matter where you go in the country you find that the people contrive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

● 426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
241 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539 577 000

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*.

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བཏང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཛོང་སྟེ། 539 231 577

བོང་དུའི་རྟགས་མ་སྐྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང་། 539 577 426

ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དགའ་ཉོས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

Land revenue.

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

Physical aspects.

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and